

# The Principia.

**First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.**

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1863.

WHOLE NO. 151.

of this kind, and its fulfillment is on the conscience of the nation, as it seems to be on that of some of our ministers and religious editors, and, as in the case of Alabaster and Hamman, the Jews, the Christians, the Mohammedans and Persians, unalterable is the duty that would be just and expedient to do as the monarch did, in that case, when, without abolishing the decree against the Jews, and forth another royal commandment, equal in efficacy and unchangeable, giving power and authority to the Jews to stand and defend themselves against their enemies, and to slay whomever attempted to do them harm. Let us take reason from that rule but grand justice. Justly our government have not the power to pro-

and declare the slaves, in the rebellious States, free, let us note what no man can question or might or authority to do, let us call upon and demand the slaves, everywhere, to rise against enemies and theirs, the rebels against the United States Government, and to fight against the United States Government, as the United States troops are now doing, or, at least, proclaim that they will do.

It is proclaimed that, everywhere, the right is not only have the right to fight against rebels, but that, in loyalty to the United States, they are bound to do so, and are compelled to do so. Every right that the United States have, to fight against the rebels, the slaves have, and much more, as having a right to their freedom, and a right to choose, under God, to elect their own rulers. It is proclaimed that they should destroy energy and exultation, while it would shoot terror and death into the ranks of our enemies. It would be like the valley of the lightning of Messiah against the rebel angels; down dropped their arms, all strength and courage fled, divine wrath and justice glaring forth, pernicious fire, from the other hand, the proclamation of the great multitude of slaves, their heads with perpendicularity, swayed, and their hearts with

give the rightful government in this country, by fire, insurrection, force, or theft. What is ours, but usurpation against our masters of the slave race? And it is as clearly now the duty of slaves in the rebellious States, as it is the duty of the government, to put down the rebellion, and the duty of every human being to aid government in so doing, by every means in power. If the slaves can aid the government against their masters, they are bound to do, over and above the God-given right to make for the defence and deliverance of their men and children, from the hell of a system of hatred, blood, adultery, and cruelty, that takes away from them every right of human beings, every possibility of wisdom, intelligence, and skill, and makes the whole mass of their humanity into a compound of enforced cannibalism and degradation.

we have no power, no right to deliver them from this hell, or to proclaim them delivered, at least we have the power and the right to command them to rise and deliver us, to command them to defend the United States Government against its enemies. If we have no authority to defend them, the meanness of the supporters of a despotic theory will not deny that we have no right to justify.

It could not be a more total treason against the principles of justice, than to make the law go through our measurements of the rights of the great battle, and remove the bullets from all the estranges. We fight for the rebellion, not against it, if we fight for slavery; we fight to spare the rebellion and destroy ourselves, if we fight to spare slavery; if we do not aim at slavery. The rebellion is in its slavery, and its

We commend this view of the case to those who pretend most piously to shrink from abolition, as a crime, and an undue stretch of power. Is not this the allegiance of the slaves due? Is not it to the United States Government? If you say no, then it is due to the Confederate Government, and you acknowledge that to be a rightful Government, for, otherwise, no person's allegiance due to it. If you say yes, then it is the duty the slaves to rise against their enemies and slay them. Whenever God gives them the opportunity, and we ought, under God, not only to give them the opportunity, but to protect and discipline, instruct and train, to organize and command them, in so doing, and to take care of their families, as their fathers, brothers, and sisters, as slaveholders, as its inspiring, commanding, implacable force and passion, and it never can be subdued, until slavery be stricken to the heart.

JUSTICE TO THE REBELS.

And here we encounter the question, What does justice to the rebel Confederacy require, as well as justice to ourselves? What kind of treatment?

And here we answer, unhesitatingly, justice to the rebel Confederacy requires that it be crushed and punished. Its leaders and instigators ought to be singled out, and made the subjects of a righteous retribution. If there is a class, an oligarchy, composed of a certain number of men with special diabolical interests, for the advance of which they have planned and executed this

And yet there are creatures among us, even on the South, so destitute of humanity, so void of all their reasonings, as to regard the disobedience of their ramped and tortured multitudes as one of the calamitous results and miseries of the war! To such an extent do they carry this moral insanity, that they say, Let us carefully avoid having anything to do with this assault. Let us leave it entirely to the providence of God, and the madness of the rebels in provoking such a calamity. If the slaves must be liberated, if the dearest and most sacred right and interest of the slaveholding States must be sacrificed, let us, at least, have the consolation of knowing that it was not our fault, but their own wickedness. Let us wash our hands of such impiety. Let us disclaim it before heaven and earth. Thou canst not say I did it! Let us treat treason, then that whole class, interested interests, ought to be annihilated. This is such a crime, that it is not to be atoned for. All sources of disunion and motives of rebellion would cease. Strike them dead, and destroy the secret of their power, the talisman of their dominion, and the whole country would return to its allegiance. They are the vice, the poison, the mischief and madness of the country. They are the only real traitors, and yet the government are ordering their interests to be protected and spared. The slaveholders, being the prime movers of rebellion and authors of the war, if a price had been set upon the head of every rebellious slaveholder, at the beginning, no step could have been more perfectly just and authorized; and the release of the slaves would have been the annihilation of the power of the slaveholders to do mischief. Set the slaves free, and confiscate all the property of the rebels.

FEAR OF DOING RIGHT.

Even in regard to slavery in the District of Columbia, we dare not, cannot move with energy. Any blow proposed, in any direction, against the slave, would, in our country, be a civil, a religious, a political, and a moral crime, the greatest cause of contention and deliberation. We go faintly, tremblingly, stealthily, towards freedom, as if we were a company of burglars or midnight assassins; we hesitate towards a great virtue, as if we were a great crime; towards an act of highest national nobleness and justice, as if we were robbing a hen-roost. Some men are even at incredible pains to purge themselves of any suspicion of advocating the abolition movement on grounds of compassion or of justice towards the enslaved. Were they half as fearful of committing a crime, as they are of perpetrating a virtue, they would be elevated to comparative nobleness of character by the very act of their hesitation.

Others there are, whose piety just enables them to be submissive, if divine providence has indeed decreed that slavery shall pass away. As the last necessity, it may be possible to do justly towards this miserable, tortured race, rather than perish ourselves. But not till God had let slavery so throttle us, that we ourselves grow black in the face, so that our failing sight could not distinguish whether it were the black hand or the white stretched out for our deliverance, not till then, would we let the freedom of the black race save us! And we still execute that disgrace of humanity, the fugitive slave law, and fugitives are driven from our lines to be whipped and hanged by their masters. We have a slave captain, named Gordon, under sentence of death, in New York, for the crime, as

[illegible]

if such insanity in regard to slavery still  
sees us, that we judge that no republican  
movement can be perfect under our Constitu-  
tion without slavery, if we judge that the Consti-  
tution which guarantees to all States received  
by the Union a republican form of government,  
and slavery, and makes it inevitable as an ele-  
ment of a State, then let that clause be re-  
pealed by the action of the Congress of the whole  
of the Union, so that punishment be let  
of traitors to that punishment. Let the  
leaders of the rebellion be taken, and given  
voluntarily to perpetual slavery, for the satisfac-  
tion of that article. They have committed  
the highest crime known to the State, which God  
punishes with death. It would be less than  
that to sentence them to slavery, and if they  
are driven in gangs to the market, and sold to the  
lowest black bidder, it would be merely doing

But the moment we do that, we are safe. We only want justice on our side, and we can stand against the world. Put the conflict on that issue of freedom, and every man's strength will be doubled. Put the conflict on that issue, and we may rightfully demand of Great Britain and France to stay their hand, and give us sympathy and time, while we go through the land with the eradication of slavery. Oh that God would, even thus late have mercy upon us, and inspire and soothe the people. How glorious. How glorious would that be our attitude, and how magnificent our moral power.

Let the proclamation run thus : Whereas, the declared objects of the Constitution of the United States are to maintain justice and liberty, and no

1 an imposing nothing, but merely stating what  
 2 would be exact and absolute justice, the  
 3 to them as they have done to others. But  
 4 are proposition of devoting a race of white  
 5 and their descendants to perpetual slavery,  
 6 rich in punishment for crime, would be treat-  
 7 ed with execration. And yet this is what they  
 8 have done in regard to the black race, and with-  
 9 out any crime, and this is just what the govern-  
 10 ment has sanctioned, and maintained, as their  
 11 duty to do, and this is what the government  
 12 propose to guarantee to them as their right  
 13 or, coming back into the Union. This is an  
 14 infamous transaction, this most stupendous  
 15 and the bare idea of which, applied to white  
 16 men even as criminals, causes you to recoil with  
 17 horror, is the very transaction, the crime, the  
 18 enormity of which, in regard to the blacks, the  
 19 demand absolutely guarantees, and declares  
 20 that the object of the war itself is to reconstruct  
 21 the Union, and that the Government and States  
 22 are ready to blaze with instinctive light-  
 23 ning of retribution, against such iniquity. God,  
 24 God of righteousness and justice, must, for  
 25 indication of his own attributes, back such  
 26 verment.

STRANGE INFATIGATION.

and indeed God seems to have blasted both instrument and people, who will persist in such ungodly wickedness, with fatuity. They seem to have taken up national suicide. The measures that will save the country, they abhor; the measures that are driving it to ruin, they persist in.

will not strike at slavery, yet even in order to crush the rebellion. We yet spare the rebels in order that slavery may be spared, in order that slavery may outlive the war, and still retain the prerogative of slave States, guaranteed by the whole power of the government, preferring the continuance of this murderous, profligate warfare, and will hazard the last of our plagues, a grave for the first born of every household in the country, rather than put an end to the war, by abolishing slavery. It is for the sake of slavery that we have brought our own country to the verge of ruin, and are in danger of sacrificing the peace of the world, and commencing the European nations into a recognition of the slaveholding confederacy. The heavens are beheld such madness, and it would not be strange if God should visit the country with

BENEFITS OF SUCH A PROCLAMATION.

The result of such a proclamation would be obvious. It would have no operation from its

the criticism, for much less guilt. And all this ruin we are hazarding, upon all these terms of peace, simply because we do not do justly, will not obey God. We might place our cause high above the possibility of defeat, we might have redeemed our national unity, we might have placed the war on a basis of righteousness, justice and freedom, that would have challenged the admiration and sympathy of the world, and secured the blessing of God, we might have crushed the rebellion, and rendered it absolutely impossible that any portion of the earth, except perhaps the government of Balaenoy, or the Cannibals of the Feejee Islands, should entertain the scheme of recognition, we might have swept slavery at a blow in the face of the civilized world, and in redeeming the South and ourselves from the incursions of the tyrannical and giving opportunity to the whole benevolent world of our Constitution rightly interpreted, we might have inaugurated a world's millennium of freedom, and it beyond the power of our enemies to interrupt our onward course.

stead of this, we are rendering the very name of republican freedom a reproach, and are owing not only our institutions, but ourselves, to the hands of our enemies, to insult and to trample us at their pleasure. It is nothing but an insane refusal to execute justice upon the revolting rebellious Confederacy, nothing but permitting the rebellion to grow to gigantic proportions and strength, and to get some respectability as an oppressed nation struggling for its rights, by our admitting that slaveholding is its invariable right, nothing but the refusal, on our part, to abolish slavery, that has given Great Britain and all the world the advantage over

The Governments of Europe have us at a great and terrible advantage to themselves, and disadvantage to us, so long as we defend ourselves, and guarantee the right of property in man. The only redemption for us, the only possible salvation of our country from entire disintegration, is the prompt and resolute launching of our armies against slavery, against the heart and

may God have mercy upon our army, and raise up some Cromwell at this hour of their extreme need, to inspire them, to point them to God, to give them the war cry of "God with us," to free them from all fear, and glory to God in the highest. We can wish the soldiers no greater blessing in their work, than the presence of such a Commander who, fearing God, will fear nothing else, who will take his marching orders from King Jesus, and remember that in the equality of the Kingdom of God, there is neither color, but that white or black, poor or free, all are one in

Charters" postage prepaid.

commander would set out off his back and then would permit a slave hunter the American camp, or one of his soul-infamous business of a slave hunter. The commander would invite to the battle for every able-bodied negro who could use a gun. Such a commander, trusting in God, carry our army at one conquering sweep, from Virginia to Texas. Is the cause of freedom not virtuous? Napoleon in this Western world, and the cause of freedom conquest has many Ninrods in the Old World. The commander, and commander inspired with freedom, and with 600,000 men at his back, and he could sweep the continent. God in his omnipotence would permit him to capture us with such hatred of slavery, and to grant us such freedom, and grant us such a sweep!

**CONDITIONS OF PEACE.**

osed by Rev. Albert Barnes, and the *New Observer*.

NO. III.	it. For the Government to tolerate slavery is to
IS THE PLAN PRACTICABLE?	permit slavery, to authorize slavery, to protect
opinion of Rev. Albert Barnes, as published in the <i>New York Observer</i> , was copied into	slavery, and there is no avoiding the fact, or evading the truth of it.

incipia of February 12, to which our readers prefer.

Conditions there proposed, will be found to the following particular specifications :

It is the proper business of every civil Government to hold sway over all its inhabitants, to claim their allegiance, to afford them protection. When it withholds that protection—as it does in permitting slavery—it relinquishes its authority over

The slave states, as subjects, transferring that authority either to the slave-masters or to the slave states. In either case, it is the same double-edged sword of enslavement which it tolerates and authorizes; by that relinquishment and disuse of its inherent and essential power, as a Government.

There can be no such thing as the Government's "standing aloof" from slavery, neither forbidding nor fostering—neither protecting nor neglecting it; and therefore, if we are to

ow to the South a full representation for slaves, and not for three-fifths of them, as at present.  
 repeal or modify the Fugitive Slave law.  
 Every, as to its control, to be left to the South, in all respects, absolutely and ex-

What the Government allows enslavers, as such, to do, it does, itself, and becomes itself a participant in the act.

move slavery from the land, by a plan of compensated emancipation—by all means of immediate emancipation, as mischievous germs.

Obtain from "any measures based on the wrong of Slavery, any act of justice to oppressed and wronged, as such."

THE PLAN EXAMINED.

opens a wide field for discussion, if each item is to be considered, deliberately, and fully. It is natural to glance at them, as we see how they hang together, and how it is practicable to accomplish anything of the kind. *The Observer* and Mr. BARNES have called the "conservative" class that claims to be "calm" in distinction from the "fanatics" "so visionary" and "so impracticable" as to be "unworthy of consideration." But what is responsible for it?

Every body would say No; and every impartial man will say the same in respect to the enslavement of black people. It is a terrible and astonishing delusion to dream that the sovereign people and the National Government of the United States tolerate the enslavement of any portion of the people, white or black, without protecting and authorizing slavery and becoming responsible to God and man, to posterity, and at the bar of the final judgment, for it.

To plead, in opposition to these statements, the want of Constitutional power in the American Government to protect its own subjects or (what amounts to the same thing) to deny that the slaves are its subjects—or to concede to the states the State right of thus annulling the authority of the

**uppression.**—But its first measure is to suppress this rebellion." This does not look like "proposing" "conditions of peace."—Perhaps the plan is, to subdue the rebels and negotiate with them afterwards, on the basis of the remaining items.

**Reconstruction.**—To restore the Union? Is it Mr. Barnes. But when?—and how? Is the Union first to be restored, and then negotiations to be opened? Are negotiations to be opened, by proposing the "conditions" giving peace and peace, the adoption of them? If so, former, then we must go on with the war, and longer, before propounding "conditions of peace" must go on, until the Union is restored. Conditionally, when conditions will not be

**V. Increased slave representation—** Allow the slave states a full representation for "three-fifths" (not for only three fifths of them).

either course—whether before or after supplanting the rebellion and restoring the Union—were the prospect of an adjustment upon the principle of "no compromise." How could the thing be done? The two parties be persuaded to adopt each other's position? If they should be adopted, how could the one be carried out? And if carried out, how could the other be carried out, and what its future?

Most or all of the specifications have been tried, already, without success.

**3. Slave-Trade.**—"Suppress the Slave Trade." So far as it can be done, on paper, it is already. On paper, the Confederate Constitution has it, as a means of conciliating the slaveholders of the border States, that "the slave-trade, between the States, shall be regulated by Congress, and shall be subject to the same regulations as the foreign slave-trade, and shall be subject to the same duties as the foreign slave-trade, and shall be subject to the same duties as the foreign slave-trade."

When the slaves are represented in Congress "as human beings and not as property"—slavery will have been abolished. To make this one of the "conditions of peace" would be making the abolition of slavery one of the conditions of peace. If we could suppose that Mr. Barnes intelligently means this, we should have no controversy with him on this point. But he cannot mean this. For he insists that "slavery, as to its control, and as to all the laws regulating it, be left to the states, as such, in all respects, absolutely, and exclusively." We might dismiss, then, this "condition of peace" as impracticable and impossible.

But suppose it were not impossible. Suppose, at least, that there could be such a bargain effected, that, without the abolition of slavery, the slave states should be allowed a full representation for all their slaves, the slaveholders, as such. That would only give the slaveholders, as such, greater political power than they had before, and

pose this could be done, how would *that* put an end to the rebellion, or restore or preserve the Union? Up to the time of the outbreak of the rebellion, the Federal Government had never interfered with slavery, but had always protected it. It did not prevent the rebellion, nor did it stop it now—it, if suspended, secure us against another rebellion.

Barnes proposes, at this point, to do less wrong of slavery than the country has heretofore done. If slavery was not then, satisfied, how can Mr. Barnes' plan satisfy it now?—The answer is, Slavery cannot afford to make any such

3. Old subscribers in arrears for two years, who will send us ten dollars shall be entitled to the enlarged paper to the end of the current volume, without any additional charge.

4. Old subscribers in arrears for one year, who will send us five dollars, shall be entitled to the enlarged paper to the end of the current volume, without any additional charge.

5. Old subscribers who have prepaid for the current year, and who will send us the name of a new subscriber to the end of the current year, shall be entitled to the enlarged paper to the end of the current year.

6. For each new subscriber, we will pay for "The Principle" one year, and either of the following books with postage prepaid:

a. "A Short History of Slavery and Anti-Slavery," or second, two copies of the "American Slave," or second, two copies of the "Principle," or for \$5. Four dollars for two new subscribers with "Charters," or second, two copies of the "Principle," one year, also one copy of "The American Slave," or second, two copies of "The Principle," one year.

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